Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 00961 01 OF 02 310402Z
ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 AF-08 EUR-12 ISO-00 ARA-06 EA-07 NEA-10
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 EB-08 TRSE-00
NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 /104 W
----------310440Z 077376 /73
O 310322Z MAR 77
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3000
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPETOWN IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 0961

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

MOSCOW FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY

GENEVA FOR MAYNES

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, UNSC, US, UN, SR, WA
SUBJ: UNSC DEBATE ON SOUTH AFRICA

REF: USUN 947

SUMMARY: IN SERIES OF INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS MARCH 30,
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 00961 01 OF 02 310402Z

WESTERN GROUP OF FIVE PRESSED NEGOTIATIONS WITH AFRICAN
AND NONALIGNED GROUP REPRESENTATIVES ON THE TEXT OF
PROPOSED DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES AND COVERING SC
RESOLUTION. IN FINAL MEETING ENDING AT 8:20 P.M., TWO
SIDES IDENTIFIED SEVERAL REMAINING TEXTUAL DIFFERENCES
ON WHICH AFRICAN/NONALIGNED GROUP RECEIVED WESTERN
SUGGESTIONS AD REFERENDUM PENDING FURTHER CONSULTATIONS

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

TOMORROW, MARCH 31. WHILE THERE REMAIN POINTS REQUIRING
NEGOTIATIONS, AND THE AFRICAN/NONALIGNED GROUP STILL
HAVE NOT COMPLETED THEIR COORDINATION WITH SOVIETS
AND CHINESE, BOTH SIDES WOULD UP THE DAY'S WORK FEELING
THAT WE ARE CLOSE TO AGREEMENT. AMBASSADOR RAMPHUL
(MAURITIUS) REMARKED AT THE END OF THE MEETING THAT WE
SHOULD BE ABLE TO COMPLETE THE DECLARATION BY THE END OF
SC BUSINESS MARCH 31. END SUMMARY.

1. THE MEMBERS OF THE 5-POWER WESTERN GROUP AND KEY
REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE AFRICAN AND NONALIGNED GROUPS
SPEND ALL DAY MARCH 30 IN A SERIES OF INTENSIVE CONSULTA-
TIONS BASED UPON THE NONALIGNED COUNTER-DRAFT TRANSMITTED
REFTEL. AMBASSADOR MCHENRY MET WITH THE OTHER FOUR WESTERN
PERM REPS EARLY MARCH 30 TO CONCERT OUR COMMENTS ON THE NON-
ALIGNED DRAFT. THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY MEETINGS BETWEEN
AMBASSADOR YOUNG AND THE NONALIGNED AT 10:25, WITH THE OTHER
WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES JOINING THE MEETING AT 10:50.
IN ADDITION TO INTENSIVE CORRIDOR DISCUSSIONS DURING THE
COURSE OF THE SC SESSION IN THE MORNING, THE AFRICAN GROUP
HELD A MEETING AT 3 P.M. AND SUBSEQUENTLY, RAMPHUL,
HARRIMAN (NIGERIA) AND OTHERS MET WITH THE CHINESE.
AT 4:30 THE WESTERNERS CONSULTED AND AT 6 P.M. THE 5 WESTERN
REPRESENTATIVES AGAIN MET FOR APPROXIMATELY 2 HOURS WITH
THE AFRICANS AND NONALIGNED.

2. AS A RESULT OF THESE CONSULTATIONS, THE NONALIGNED
PRODUCED A NEW DRAFT OF THE DECLARATION WHICH ACCOMMODATED
A NUMBER OF THE WESTERN POINTS. IN THE 6 O'CLOCK MEETING,
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USUN N 00961 01 OF 02 310402Z

THE WESTERN GROUP EXPLAINED CERTAIN REMAINING TEXTUAL
PROBLEMS IN THE NEW DRAFT (TRANSMITTED SEPTEL). WHILE
THERE WILL BE FURTHER DETAILED NEGOTIATIONS MARCH 31,
THE ONLY SUBSTANTIAL DIFFERENCES PERTAINED TO PARAGRAPH 16.
THE AFRICAN GROUP IN PARTICULAR, LED BY HARRIMAN, RETAINED
STRONG VIEWS ABOUT THE LANGUAGE IN THE SECOND AND THIRD
SENTENCES OF THIS PARAGRAPH. HARRIMAN EXPLAINED THAT THEY
NOT ONLY BELIEVE IN THE IDEAS EXPRESSED IN THOSE SENTENCES,
BUT THEY ALSO FELT IT WOULD STRENGTHEN WESTERN HANDS IN
DEALING WITH SOUTH AFRICA TO ALLUDE EVEN INDIRECTLY TO
THE POSSIBILITY OF ECONOMIC PRESSURES. THE UK PERM REP
FLATLY STATED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT'S REJECTION OF ECONOMIC
SANCTIONS HAS NOT CHANGED. IT WAS AGREED IN THE END OF
THE DISCUSSION THAT THE WESTERN SIDE WOULD PRODUCE
A PROPOSED REDRAFT OF PARAGRAPH 16.

3. THE FOLLOWING IS THE NEW WESTERN REDRAFT OF PARAGRAPH 16,
WHICH THE WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES BELIEVED THEY COULD ACCEPT
AND PROPOSED TO PASS TO THE AFRICAN AND NONALIGNED GROUPS

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

MARCH 31. THE UK REP AID HE PERSONALLY BELIEVED IT
WOULD FLY, BUT HE WISHED TO OBTAIN THE VIEWS OF LONDON.
THE TEXT OF THE PROPOSED NEW PARAGRAPH 16 FOLLOWS: "THE
SECURITY COUNCIL RECOGNIZED THAT THE MINORITY REGIMES IN SOUTHERN
AFRICA HAVE FOLLOWED POLICIES WHICH ARE UTTERLY CONTRARY
TO THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES CHERISHED BY THE
ORGANIZATION AND ITS MEMBER STATES. THEY HAVE DENIED
ELEMENTARY RIGHTS TO THE GREAT MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION
AND A MINORITY OF THE POPULATION ENJOY A DISPROPORTIONATE
SHARE OF THE WEALTH OF THE COUNTRY. THE SECURITY COUNCIL
CONSIDERS ANY COOPERATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA WHICH TENDS
TO PERPETUATE AND INTENSIFY INEQUALITY ON THE BASIS OF
RACE AS EQUALLY INCONSISTENT WITH THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC
VALUES CHERISHED BY THE ORGANIZATION AND ITS MEMBERS.
IN THIS RESPECT SOME MEMBER STATES HAVE TAKEN A NUMBER
OF ECONOMIC AND OTHER MEASURES IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE
UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS, TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR OP-
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 USUN N 00961 01 OF 02 310402Z

POSITION TO APARTHEID AND THEIR CONVERN OVER THE SITUATION
IN SOUTH AFRICA. SUCH MEASURES ARE TO BE ENCOURAGED AND
REINFORMED FOR AS LONG AS APARTHEID AND RACIAL DISCRIMI-
NATION REMAIN STATE POLICIES."

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 00961 02 OF 02 310414Z
ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 AF-08 EUR-12 ISO-00 ARA-06 EA-07 NEA-10
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 EB-08 TRSE-00
ACDA-07 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 /111 W
----------310441Z 077761 /73
O 310322Z MAR 77
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3001
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPETOWN IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 0961

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

MOSCOW FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY

GENEVA FOR MAYNES

4. CONCERNING THE NONALIGNED PROPOSED DRAFT RESOLUTION WHICH WOULD COVER THE DECLARATION IN THEIR CONEPT, THE MOST RECENT DRAFT RECEIVED FROM THE NONALIGNED GROUP MARCH 30 ACCEDED TO ALMOST ALL WESTERN COMMENTS AND APPEARS GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE IN THE VIEW OF WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES HERE. THE LATEST DRAFT OF THE PROPOSED RES FOLLOWS: "THE SECRETARY COUNCIL,
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 00961 02 OF 02 310414Z

GRAVELY CONCERNED OVER THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA AS A WHOLE WHICH, IF CONTINUED, WILL ENDANGER INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY,

CONVINCED THAT URGENT MEASURES MUST BE TAKEN BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO SECURE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ITS RESOLUTIONS AND THEREBY PROMOTE A SOLUTION TO THE GRAVE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA AND IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AS A WHOLE,

1. ADOPT THE DECLARATION ANNEXED TO THIS RESOLUTION AND CALLS UPON ALL CONCERNED FOR THE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF ITS PROVISIONS;

2. REQUESTS ALL MEMBERS STATES TO TAKE ALL APPROPRIATE STEPS TOWARDS THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION;

3. DECIDES TO REMAIN SEIZED OF THE MATTER AND TO MEET NOT LATER THAN 30 JUNE 1977 TO CONSIDER SUCH FURTHER EFFECTIVE MEASURES, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CHARTER, AS MAY BE NECESSARY TO SECURE THE URGENT AND FULL IMPLE-MENTATION OF THE DECLARATION."

5. COMMENT: THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE DISCUSSION WITH THE AFRICANS AND NONALIGNED CONTINUES TOMAKE CLEAR THAT

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

THEY ARE COMMITTED TO A DECLARATION. THEY ALSO HAVE
LEFT NO DOUBT THAT IF THE COURSE OF ACTION INDICATED
BY THE DECLARATION PRODUCES NO RESULT, THEY WILL RETURN
TO TALK OF SANCTIONS IN JUNE. AMBASSADOR HARRIMAN HAS
BEEN A STRONG LEADER IN MINIMIZING THE NIT-PICKING
PROCLIVITIES OF SOME DELEGATES ON HIS SIDE AND REITERATING
THE VALUE OF COOPERATION WITH THE WEST IN THE STRATEGY
OF THE DECLARATION. PARTICULARLY IN THE DISCUSSION LATE
TODAY, AMBASSADOR JAIPAL (INDIA) HAS BEEN EXTREMELY
SYMPATHETIC TO THE WESTERN INITIATIVE AND HELPFUL IN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USUN N 00961 02 OF 02 310414Z

GUIDING THE RESPONSE OF THE NONALIGNED. AT THE END
OF TODAY'S MEETING, AMBASSADOR RAMPHUL COMMENTED THAT
HE THOUGHT WE COULD COMPLETE THE AGREEMENT MARCH 31 AND
ISSUE THE DECLARATION AT THE END OF THE SC MEETING.
THE OBVIOUS EAGERNESS OF THE AFRICANS AND NONALIGNED TO
WRAP-UP THE DECLARATION GIVES SOME HOPE FOR COMPLETION
OF THEEXERCISE MARCH 31, BUT IT WILL, OF COURSE, DEPEND
UPON FURTHER DISCUSSIONS EARLIER IN THE DAY.

6. RAMPHUL'S CONCERN WITH COORDINATION WITH SOVIETS AND
CHINESE REFLECTS THE ACTIVIST EFFORTS OF BOTH, FOR
DIFFERENT REASONS, TO BLOCK OR OBSTRUCT THE CONSIDERATION
OF THE DECLARATION. THE CHINESE HAVE CRITICIZED THE
"WEAKNESS" OF THE DRAFT DECLARATION, BUT THEY HAVE APPEARED
TO BE LESS INCLINED TO ARGUE AGAINST THE WHOLE ENTERPRISE
THAN THE SOVIETS, ACCORDING TO ACCOUNTS OF MEMBERS OF
THE NONALIGNED GROUP. HARRIMAN HAS MAINTAINED A STRONG
POSITION IN THE FACT OF THIS PRESSURE, HOWEVER, AND
PRESUMARLY WILL PREVAIL IN THE FURTHER DISCUSSIONS WITH
SOVIETS AND CHINESE PLANNED EARLY MARCH 31. WE HAVE
PERMITTED THE AFRICANS TO CARRY THE BALL IN HANDLING THE
SOVIETS AND CHINESE.
YOUNG

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DEBATES, UNSC RESOLUTIONS, NEGOTIATIONS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 31-Mar-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977USUNN00961
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770110-0026
Format: TEL
From: USUN NEW YORK
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t1977031/aaaaaaig.tel
Line Count: 263
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 9c8607ac-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 USUN NEW YORK 947
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 21-Dec-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2931433
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: UNSC DEBATE ON SOUTH AFRICA
TAGS: PFOR, US, SF, WA, UNSC, UN
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/9c8607ac-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009